

University of North Carolina at Asheville

Revolutionizing the Instrument & the Genre: the Scruggs Impact on Bluegrass

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Bluegrass, a genre of American music that originated in the South during the mid 1940's, is typically characterized by high pitched singing with specifically arranged, lonesome sounding harmonies atop speedy tempos--which are traditionally performed with acoustic instruments. Similar to jazz and country music, bluegrass is an aspect of American culture that blended European, specifically Scotch-Irish, and African-American influences. Initially, bluegrass was strictly a Southern phenomenon; however, with the advancements and developments of visual and auditory media during the 20th century, bluegrass was more easily spread throughout America and eventually the world. Numerous musicians undoubtedly contributed to the popularity and creation of bluegrass music. However, one man and his revolutionary banjo style aided tremendously in the movement of bluegrass music from the Southern genre that it was, to the national and international genre that it is today. Mr. Earl Eugene Scruggs, known as the Banjo Man, has left behind an everlasting legacy with his inventive banjo pickin' that has influenced innumerable musicians. Scruggs was monumental, not only in the creation of what is considered the fundamental bluegrass banjo sound, but his work with Lester Flatt brought traditional Southern bluegrass music into popular culture through their roles within the visual and auditory media, which also impacted stereotypes associated with bluegrass.

It is evident among the scholarship surrounding bluegrass music that the genre originated from what is termed hillbilly music, which emerged from the southern industrial working classes during the early 20th century. Written in 2008, Patrick Huber's *Linthead Stomp* focused on the role that Southern white working classes, such as mill hands, had in sculpting Southern American Music during the era prior to World War I. Huber argued that the origins of hillbilly music, which evolved into country and bluegrass music, are commonly and mistakenly

associated with rural farms and mountain communities, when in actuality, hillbilly music spawned from the industrialized cities in the south. Huber stated that “within the Southern Piedmont, hillbilly music actually emerged in a rapidly modernizing society of cities and towns, railroads, two-lane highways, and textile mills, and much of the music recorded...was clearly the product of this modern, urban-industrial world.”¹ Huber’s analysis is relevant to research regarding Earl Scruggs because Scruggs serves an example of a bluegrass musician who was employed at a textile mill in the Southern Piedmont prior to his famous music career. Although Scruggs was not a hillbilly, he was eventually associated with that stereotype.

Neil Rosenberg, a bluegrass musician himself, is a leading scholar of folklore and bluegrass music who, whilst playing with famous bluegrass musicians during the 1960’s, began studying the genre. In his 1985 work, *Bluegrass*, Rosenberg provided a comprehensive history of bluegrass. *Bluegrass* notes the developments of bluegrass music within hillbilly music, the components that led to its rise during the 1950’s and 1960’s, and also includes aspects of contemporary bluegrass music. In his article “Image and Stereotype: Bluegrass Sound Tracks,” Rosenberg traced the developments of the use of bluegrass music within popular culture, and argued that the “historical descriptions of bluegrass music note that the spread and success of bluegrass music as a popular genre resulted, in part, from its popularity in the visual media.”² In this article, Rosenberg identified that the most popular bluegrass tracks produced, two of which were by Lester Flatt, Earl Scruggs, and the Foggy Mountain Boys, were paired with an aspect of visual media which held a ‘hillbilly’ connotation. This research differs from Rosenberg's in that I

¹ Patrick Huber, *Linthead Stomp: The Creation of Country Music in the Piedmont South*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 4.

² Neil V. Rosenberg, “Image and Stereotype: Bluegrass Sound Tracks,” *American Music*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Autumn, 1983): 1.

also examine how Flatt and Scruggs perpetuated stereotypes with their careers with Martha White Mills, and how their popularity allowed for bluegrass music to be widely accepted.

A similar history of bluegrass is found in Robert Cantwell's book, *Bluegrass Breakdown*, written in 1984. Cantwell argued that bluegrass "belongs to a long-standing and widespread folk revival movement, both learned and popular, that is bound up with these ideas and, in this century, with the power of radio and phonograph to inspire them."³

In the exploration of the influence of the media, Bill C. Malone, a scholar of country and other forms of traditional American music, discussed in his 1971 article, "Radio and Personal Appearances," the significant impact that radio and advertising had on country and bluegrass music. Malone noted that "advertising is an oft-recognized but generally unexploited field of research in the study of country music expansion."⁴ In his examination, Malone outlined the developments of hillbilly music, and attributed its rise and evolution to the importance and use of radio broadcasting. Malone's argument sheds light on the career of Earl Scruggs in that his fame was, in part, the result of a twenty year sponsorship with Martha White Mills. In further examination of the importance of radio to the development of bluegrass music, Craig Havighurst's *Air Castle of the South*, written in 2007, identified the significance of Nashville's WSM radio in the establishment of bluegrass and country music. Havighurst argued that "bluegrass was largely invented over WSM microphones, recorded by WSM personnel, and promoted through WSM branding."⁵ Havighurst is accurate in his claim, and it is essential to

³ Robert Cantwell, *Bluegrass Breakdown: The Making of the Old Southern Sound*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984): xii.

⁴ Bill C. Malone, "Radio and Personal Appearances: Sources and Resources," *Western Folklore*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (July 1971): 221.

⁵ Craig Havighurst, *Air Castle of the South: WSM and the Making of Music City*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007): 141.

note that the music of Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs was broadcast over Nashville's WSM radio, during their 1950's morning radio program.

Multiple scholarly sources address the importance of Earl Scruggs in analyses of bluegrass and banjo music, and several articles have been written about his life. However, aside from Rosenberg's "Image and Stereotypes," no research arguing Earl's fundamental role in popularizing and transforming bluegrass music nationally and internationally exists. This research attempts to examine the career of Mr. Scruggs, and how through the use of the visual and auditory media of the 20th century, paired with his famous banjo style, impacted bluegrass music.

On January 6th, 1924 a musical family in Cleveland County, North Carolina, gave birth to Earl Eugene Scruggs. The music played in his home influenced Scruggs at an early age: his father, George Elam Scruggs, played the fiddle and the banjo, his older brothers, Junie and Horace, and two older sisters, Eula May and Ruby, played the banjo and the guitar, and his mother, Lula Ruppe Scruggs, played the organ.⁶ The Scruggs home had a wind up record player, but they did not own a radio until Scruggs was fifteen.⁷ Aside from his family, and local banjo pickers, the majority of what music Scruggs played was self-taught, and he developed his signature 'Scruggs' style' of banjo picking at the age of ten.⁸ Scruggs recalled that following an argument with his brother, he took his banjo into another room, and while picking "Reuben," he realized he was using his thumb, middle, and index to play.⁹ The Scruggs style, as it has been

⁶ Earl Scruggs, "Biographical Notes," *Earl Scruggs and the 5-String Banjo*, (New York: Peer International Corporation, 1968): 147.

⁷ Earl Scruggs quoted in Marty Godbey, "The Artistry and Accomplishments of Earl Scruggs," *Bluegrass Unlimited*, August 1996, 56. Box 12, *Bluegrass Unlimited* Collection, Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University Special Collections.

⁸ Alan Cakett, "Earl Scruggs," *Maverick*, 2012. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed May 2nd, 2013): 34.

⁹ Scruggs, "Biographical Notes," 155.

termed, is the essential bluegrass banjo sound, and the songs written by Mr. Scruggs are considered to be bluegrass standards. The Scruggs style is characterized by the use of a three finger, thumb, index, and middle, roll instead of a two finger roll. This method was not entirely unheard of, three finger styles had been employed by earlier musicians, yet Scruggs's method created a new rhythm that emphasized melodies and had precise timing.¹⁰ Local musicians such as, DeWitt “Snuffy” Jenkins, Smith Hammett, and Mack Crow, impacted Scruggs's interest in the banjo at an early age. Smith Hammett is considered to be one of the earliest banjoists to use a three-finger style, and greatly influenced Scruggs and his brother Junie.¹¹ In a 1967 interview with *Bluegrass Unlimited* magazine, Scruggs said that ‘when I started using the third finger, I wasn’t happy with it at all because my dreams were to play exactly like these people [Smith Hammett, “Snuffy” Jenkins] played but later did I learn that it was quite versatile and had some advantages over the other pickers that I had been wanting to play like.’¹²

By age 15, Scruggs was playing in a group known as the ‘Carolina Wildcats,’ and was working in the textile mill in his hometown of Shelby, North Carolina. Scruggs lost his father at the age of four, and in an effort to help support his family, he worked on the family’s farm until he was old enough to get a job in the factory.¹³ While working at the Lily Mill in Shelby, Scruggs often worked a second shift putting in around 72 hours a week.¹⁴ In 1945, at age 21, Scruggs abandoned his mill job with aspirations of starting a music career. With “Lost” John Miller’s band, Scruggs left Shelby and traveled to Nashville to perform on a Saturday morning

¹⁰ Cakett, 34.

¹¹ Scruggs, "Biographical Notes," 147.

¹² Earl Scruggs, “Interview with Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs--January 1967,” *Bluegrass Unlimited*, Vol. 2 No. 1 (July 1967): 2. Box 1, *Bluegrass Unlimited* Collection, Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University Special Collections.

¹³ Earl, Scruggs, “Earl Scruggs: The 2003 Fresh Air Interview.” *Fresh Air (NPR) Newspaper Source Plus*, EBSCOhost (accessed May 2, 2013): 2.

¹⁴ Scruggs, "Biographical Notes," 150.

WSM radio broadcast, where he met a fiddle player from Bill Monroe's Blue Grass Boys.¹⁵

After working with John Miller for a while, Scruggs auditioned for, and got the Grand Ole Opry gig performing with the well known Bill Monroe and his Blue Grass Boys, which included Lester Flatt. In a 1978 interview, Flatt recalled Scruggs's audition and stated, "when I got back stage, there was a crowd gathered around to watch this boy. I had never heard anybody pick a banjo the way he did. He'd go all over the neck and do things you couldn't hardly believe."¹⁶

The fact that *the* Blue Grass Boys were astonished with Scruggs's sound meant his picking must have been unique, to say the least. Working with Monroe's Blue Grass Boys proved to be great exposure for Scruggs, mainly because no one had heard his rapidly precise banjo picking before. Scholars and fans have agreed that no one played the banjo like Scruggs. Flatt recalled in an interview, "When Scruggs came into the outfit, it completely changed the sound."¹⁷

For three years Scruggs essentially lived out of his suitcase while traveling and performing with Monroe and his Blue Grass Boys; life on the road was rough for the group. Scruggs recalled that the Blue Grass Boys would "travel sometimes for days without pulling our shoes off in that old stretch limousine."¹⁸ In 1948, Scruggs put in his two week notice with Monroe, claiming that he needed to get off the road and take care of his mother. According to Scruggs, the night he left Nashville for Shelby, Flatt put in his notice also, and a few days later called him in North Carolina suggesting that they get a group together close to Scruggs's home.¹⁹ Though they never admitted it outright, many debate whether or not Scruggs and Flatt had

¹⁵ Godbey, "The Artistry and Accomplishments of Earl Scruggs," 57.

¹⁶ Marty Stuart, "Flatt & Scruggs: Mountain Music in Overdrive," *The Journal of the American Academy for the preservation of Old Time Country Music* I, no. 6 (December 1991): 9.

¹⁷ Peter Kuykendall, "Lester Flatt & The Nashville Grass," *Bluegrass Unlimited* 5, no. 7 (January 1971): 5. Box 2, *Bluegrass Unlimited* Collection, Archives of Appalachia at East Tennessee State University Special Collections Library.

¹⁸ Scruggs quoted in Stuart, 9.

¹⁹ Scruggs, "The Fresh Air Interview," 5.

previously planned to venture away from Monroe to create a band of their own. Forming a new group must have made financial sense to Flatt and Scruggs, seeing as they were both popular front men for the Blue Grass Boys, and were not getting paid accordingly. Historian John Rumble argued that Monroe “couldn’t have been completely surprised when Flatt and Scruggs formed their own outfit. Tired of working hard for sixty dollars a week, they wanted a piece of the action.”²⁰ Bill Monroe was offended, to say the least, when Flatt and Scruggs formed their own group. After the formation of the Foggy Mountain Boys, Monroe did not speak to Lester Flatt for twenty years.²¹

Together in 1948, Flatt and Scruggs formed the band known as Flatt, Scruggs, and the Foggy Mountain Boys. The band lasted for over twenty years, and would prove to be fundamental in the spread and popularity of bluegrass music through their distinct sound--which was promoted commercially. The original members of the Foggy Mountain Boys were Lester Flatt, Earl Scruggs, Cedric Rainwater, Mac Wiseman, and Jimmy Shumate. The Boys signed with Mercury Records in 1948, during which Scruggs's immensely popular instrumental song, “Foggy Mountain Breakdown,” was recorded.²² To symbolize their separation from Monroe, the Foggy Mountain Boys did not include a mandolin in their sound. In 1950, the group left Mercury Records for Columbia Records, where they soon became one of Columbia’s best selling Country music artists. In fact, Flatt, Scruggs, and the Foggy Mountain Boys came in second place in record sales to Mr. Johnny Cash.²³ The band’s manager was Scruggs's wife, Louise Scruggs. Louise was Nashville’s first female band manager who seized various opportunities for the group. The various opportunities Louise capitalized on, such as the theme song for *The Beverly*

²⁰ John W. Rumble, *The Music of Bill Monroe: from 1936 to 1994*, (MCA 1994): 41.

²¹ Stuart, 9.

²² Earl Scruggs, *Foggy Mountain Breakdown*, Mercury Records, 2003.

²³ Kuykendall, 3.

Hillbillies, played a critical role in the popularity of Flatt and Scruggs' music. For example, in 1959 Louise booked Scruggs for the Newport Folk Festival; this led to greater exposure for not only Scruggs, but also for Flatt and the Foggy Mountain Boys as well.²⁴

The 1950's and 60's for Flatt, Scruggs, and the Foggy Mountain Boys proved to be *their* decades. A Knoxville performance in 1953 resulted in the transformation of the careers of Flatt and Scruggs into the commercialized entertainment route. The Boys were recognized by Efford Burke, a salesman for Martha White Mills, who encouraged the president of Martha White Mills, Cohen Williams, to sponsor this group.²⁵ The act Martha White was sponsoring at that point was Milton Estes, but Estes' music did not translate well with Martha White's Southern consumers.²⁶ Martha White relied on the country music industry thriving within its hometown of Nashville for advertising in their early years. By using Nashville's country music radio, WSM, to promote their product, Martha White attracted Southern listeners to their 5:45 AM Saturday Morning radio program, "Martha White Biscuit and Cornbread Time."²⁷ In 1948, Martha White expanded its advertising to sponsor the Grand Ole Opry, of which they would eventually use to promote Flatt, Scruggs, and the Foggy Mountain Boys.

Time would soon tell that the Southern style and sound of the Foggy Mountain Boys translated clearly with Southern listeners and consumers. Williams offered the Boys a Saturday morning Nashville WSM radio broadcast, sponsored by Martha White Flour. In June 1953, Flatt, Scruggs, and the Boys broadcast their first WSM radio show.²⁸ These shows were broadcast

²⁴ Cakett, 35.

²⁵ Godbey, 60.

²⁶ Stuart, 10.

²⁷ "History and Heritage," Martha White, accessed September 8th, 2013, http://www.marthawhite.com/about/history_heritage.aspx.

²⁸ Stuart, 10.

Monday through Friday at 5:45 to 6:00 A.M..²⁹ The radio program ran from 1953 until 1962. On the radio broadcast, the Boys performed the Martha White jingle which was short, yet long enough to gain the attention Williams clearly sought from WSM's Southern audience. Flatt would sing the slogan, "Goodness gracious, good and light, Martha White, for the finest biscuits ever wuz..³⁰ Both the Boys and Martha White gained attention from the broadcast, which enhanced the commercialization of their music. Flatt and Scruggs had begun their venture--a shift further from music as entertainment into a music as advertising.

In 1955 Cohen Williams purchased television time on the WSM-TV network, and gave Flatt and Scruggs their own television show.³¹ As did the radio broadcast, the exposure on television proved to be successful for both Martha White and the Foggy Mountain Boys. The Boys' television appearances expanded their fan base tremendously, in part because television allowed for Flatt and Scruggs to be in front of large audiences without the hassle of scheduling a tour. Scruggs enjoyed performing on television because "it was so on-the-spot effective."³² Williams was able to persuade WSM-TV station manager Jack DeWitt to put Flatt and Scruggs on Martha White's half hour portion of the Grand Ole Opry show.³³ Williams had to persuade DeWitt because tensions remained between Flatt, Scruggs, and Monroe. At this point, the entirety of the band's media exposure was sponsored by Martha White Mills.

In 1956, Flatt, Scruggs, and the Foggy Mountain Boys became the first 'country' music group to have a syndicated television program: The Flatt and Scruggs TV Show, which ran from 1956 to 1962. The shows opened with banjo music, and the announcer would introduce Flatt,

²⁹ Scruggs, "Biographical Notes," 153.

³⁰ "Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs," from "Martha White and Country Music," accessed September 8th, 2013. http://www.marthawhite.com/assets/about/sheet_song.gif

³¹ Stuart, 10.

³² Earl Scruggs quoted in "Now You Bake Right: Flatt and Scruggs on Regional Television," notes to the *Best of Flatt & Scruggs TV Show*, DVD (WSM-TV, Shanachie 2007): 1,2.

³³ Jay Orr, "Now You Bake Right: Flatt and Scruggs on Regional Television," 3.

Scruggs, the Foggy Mountain Boys and their sponsor, Martha White Mills.³⁴ In the March 1962 episode, the Boys performed two songs which followed with Lester's introduction of the Martha White Knick Knack Snacks.³⁵ The scene then cut over to "The Martha White Kitchen," where a Joyce Marsh demonstrated how to make Knick Knack Sticks while the spokesman told the audience how to make them.³⁶ Ms. Marsh followed the instructions given by the spokesman; she served her role within the advertisement, as the Southern woman performing the societal implications of her place within advertising and the home. Ms. Marsh, the spokesman, and Flatt all possessed thick, almost exaggerated Southern accents when they advertised the Martha White products. Indeed they were all Southern natives, but the Southern cultural aspects within the advertising were crucial to the process. The Boys were all dressed in cowboy hats, all slightly arched to the side--this seemed to be their typical get-up. The Boys performed three more Southern style songs, and again after an introduction by Flatt, the scene cut back to Martha White's Kitchen for another recipe that used Martha White's Hot-Rize Flour. The show offered leaflets of the recipes to their viewers who mailed in a request. This television show serves as an example of the advertising methods employed by the Martha White company; they relied on Southern cultural aspects of music, food, and gender roles to sell their products.

The Foggy Mountain Boys, especially Flatt, were entertaining salesmen--they used their traditional Southern sound, accents, and dress to promote Martha White products to Southern viewers. A 1953 photo of the Boys, later used in a 1967 issue of *Bluegrass Unlimited*, serves as another example of their means for advertising Martha White products (see Appendix A).³⁷ The

³⁴ "March 1962" show, *Best of Flatt and Scruggs TV Show*, DVD (WSM-TV and Shanachie Entertainment 2007).

³⁵ "March 1962."

³⁶ "March 1962."

³⁷ "Lester Flatt & Earl Scruggs & The Foggy Mountain Boys," *Bluegrass Unlimited*, Vol. 2 No. 1 (July 1967): 2. Box 1, *Bluegrass Unlimited* Collection, Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University Special Collections.

group is photographed behind a table lined with Martha White goods: coffee, cake mix, corn meal, and two large bags of all purpose flour rest against the table. With their hats tilted to the side, the gang is all smiles behind a WSM microphone and Martha White products.

The sponsorship the Boys had with Martha White proved to be beneficial for both parties. Without Martha White sponsorship, the careers of Flatt and Scruggs would have been completely different; Scruggs acknowledged, “they helped us more than I could total up.”³⁸ Indeed the company did establish and increase the group’s fame. If Flatt, Scruggs, and the Foggy Mountain boys were never picked up by Martha White Mills, they would not have experienced the widespread popularity they received from their on air time, which provided numerous opportunities for the group. President Cohen Williams said that the partnerships with Flatt, Scruggs, and the Grand Ole Opry transformed Martha White from a “\$250 a week broker business to a multibillion dollar company.”³⁹ On April 6th, 1968, Flatt and Scruggs were presented with an award for the “World’s Greatest Flour Peddlers,” a three tiered cake, topped with miniature Flatt and Scruggs figurines wearing cowboy hats and string ties, to acknowledge their twenty year anniversary sponsorship with Martha White.⁴⁰ The language and photographs within this article included Southern cultural aspects such as, “they are as down home as sorghum and grits.”⁴¹ Aside from Southern connotations, this award also represented twenty years of the commercialization of bluegrass music by the Martha White Company, and without it, bluegrass music would perhaps not be recognized as it is today in contemporary society. It seems as though Flatt and Scruggs had two jobs: as talented musicians and as Southern salesmen.

³⁸ Scruggs, "The Fresh Air Interview," 7.

³⁹ Kuykendall, 4.

⁴⁰ Larry Arnett, “Flour Power: Flatt and Scruggs,” *Country Song Round-Up*, Vol. 20 No. 112 (November 1968):17. Frist Archive of the Country Music Hall of Fame Museum and Library.

⁴¹ Arnett, 17.

One reason Scruggs claimed to have left Monroe's group was because life on the road was tough; however, he soon found himself traveling constantly--between playing shows, radio appearances, their television show, and the Grand Ole Opry television show. Perhaps touring was not as bad now that Flatt and Scruggs were prosperous, and they had some degree of creative control. The group performed a live Martha White television show in a different city each night. They traveled 2,500 miles a week traveling from Tennessee to Georgia, to South Carolina to West Virginia, and back to Tennessee in time for the Grand Ole Opry Saturday night show. Although hectic, the traveling and media exposure gave way for increasing career opportunities for the Boys.

In 1962, Flatt and Scruggs wrote the theme song for *The Beverly Hillbillies*, "The Ballad of Jed Clampett." *The Beverly Hillbillies* was a CBS show that depicted the lives of a Southern family who moved to Beverly Hills after they struck it by rich finding oil on their land. The band's manager, Louise Scruggs, initially rejected the offer from writer and director Paul Henning for the group to write the song because she "didn't know what connotation that was going to take with the country people and didn't want to offend them."⁴² After Scruggs and Flatt watched the show, they agreed to record the song. Louise thought that the theme song might make a great single for the group and contacted Columbia records.⁴³ In fact "The Ballad of Jed Clampett" turned out to be extremely popular, and reached number one on the Country Billboard charts in December 1962. "The Ballad of Jed Clampett" and the appearances made by Flatt and Scruggs on *The Beverly Hillbillies* increased opportunities for the band. Louise recalled that following the airing of the show, "within about a month I had been booked up for a year in

⁴² Louise Scruggs, "Earl Scruggs: The 2003 Fresh Air Interview," 9.

⁴³ Louise Scruggs, 9.

advance.”⁴⁴ *The Beverly Hillbillies* was extremely popular and shown around the world-- it brought bluegrass music and Scruggs’s banjo into homes that had never before heard this traditional Southern music. Although advantageous for the spread of bluegrass music, *The Beverly Hillbillies* paired bluegrass with an image of hillbilly people, and what was perpetuated as hillbilly lifestyles on the show.

Scruggs and Flatt made a few appearances on *The Beverly Hillbillies*. For example, they starred in an episode from the first season, “Jed throws a Wing Ding.” In this episode, Flatt and Scruggs mailed the Clampetts informing them they were flying out to California for a visit, to which Jed Clampett replied, “Weeeeeeeeeee dogie!”⁴⁵ The episode began with a subtle banjo tune, which became louder and increased as the credits ended and the show began; the beginnings and endings of each scene were marked with banjo music as well. The letter was for Pearl, who in the episode Flatt and Scruggs were once both in love with. Granny said to Pearl, “You had their heart meltin’ like hog grease on a hot griddle!”⁴⁶ This episode, as were the others, was riddled with Southern vernacular and strong, exaggerated Southern accents. After the letter was opened, the scene cut to Flatt and Scruggs on a plane with instruments in hand, Scruggs with his Gibson banjo and Flatt with his guitar. They began singing and playing “Pearl, Pearl, Pearl,” in which Flatt and Scruggs take turns singing verses. Each verse consisted of Flatt or Scruggs attempting to convince Pearl to marry one of them, and why she should not marry the other. Scruggs’s verse was, “Pearl, Pearl, Pearl, come be my lovin’ girl, don’t you marry Lester Flatt, he slicks his hair with possum fat, change your name to Mrs. Earl Scruggs”.⁴⁷ Flatt’s verse replied with, “Pearl, Pearl, Pearl, you’ll get no love from Earl, he won’t hold you on his lap

⁴⁴ Louise Scruggs, 9.

⁴⁵ *The Beverly Hillbillies*, “Jed Throws a Wing Ding,” episode 20, season 1, January 3, 2013 (originally aired February 6, 1963), www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hq7IYDzXajQ, accessed October 15, 2013.

⁴⁶ *The Beverly Hillbillies*, “Jed Throws a Wing Ding.”

⁴⁷ Paul Henning, *Pearl, Pearl, Pearl*, performed by Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs, Sony B000002AD3, CD, 1997.

unless you are an ol' five string banjo." This song performed on the episode, and the episode itself, depicted Southern culture, but also heavily associated Scruggs and his banjo. Throughout the entirety of the episode, with the exception of a few seconds when he left it on the table, Scruggs's banjo remained in his grasp. Flatt and Scruggs were dressed in their typical Southern get-up, similar to the style worn on the Martha White shows, titled cowboy hats and a suit with their string bow-ties. The other characters, Granny, Ellie May, Jethro, and Jed were all portraying Southern hillbilly stereotypes with their outfits, accents, and vernacular: Ellie May was in a plaid shirt, Ellie May and Jethro both wore a rope string as a belt, Jed had a tattered cowboy hat, and Granny's lines were filled with Southern slang. The show illustrated 'Southern' culture through the characters' strong Southern accents, vernacular, dress, diets, and overall lifestyles. Being that the show was immensely popular, the stereotypes it conveyed were viewed by audiences worldwide; which further associated bluegrass music with images of rural, uneducated, hillbillies.

In Neil Rosenberg's "Image and Stereotypes," Rosenberg argued that bluegrass music was often paired with a hillbilly connotation when seen in the visual media. Rosenberg stated that "bluegrass was used in the Beverly Hillbillies primarily because of its cultural connotations."⁴⁸ Since bluegrass music is an aspect of traditional Southern culture, and rural hillbillies appear to be from the South, it made sense for CBS to select the most known bluegrass group for the show; however, by doing such it somewhat placed cultural limits on bluegrass music and the music of the Foggy Mountain Boys. Flatt told *Bluegrass Unlimited* in 1968, "we're trying to get away from bluegrass, but it seems we're branded with it."⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Rosenberg, 12.

⁴⁹ Flatt quoted in *Bluegrass Unlimited* 1968, volume and issue number unknown.

With the increased fame brought on by the success of *The Beverly Hillbillies*, Flatt, Scruggs, and The Foggy Mountain Boys were presented with opportunities never before offered to a country music group. In 1967 “Foggy Mountain Breakdown” was chosen for the theme music of *Bonnie and Clyde*. “Foggy Mountain Breakdown” was and remains one of the most widely recognized bluegrass songs. The popularity of *Bonnie and Clyde* resulted in Flatt and Scruggs representing Nashville, The Grand Ole Opry, and Tennessee on the 1969 Inaugural Float, to the recurring, racing banjo music of “Foggy Mountain Breakdown.”⁵⁰ The 1969 press release credited the song as the “‘chase’ theme from *Bonnie and Clyde*.”⁵¹ Again the music of Flatt and Scruggs was made popular not only because of their unique sound, but also by the cultural associations of within their music, which was played during the chase scenes of the movie. When promoting Martha White, appearing on television or at concerts, Flatt, Scruggs, and the Foggy Mountain Boys would wear their titled cowboy hats and string ties; however, for *The Story of Bonnie and Clyde* album, the Boys are dressed head to toe as gangsters.⁵² They are wearing gangster style pinstripe suits, with flowers on their lapels, fedora hats, and saddle oxford shoes. Flatt with a machine gun in hand, and Scruggs with an instrument case, are posed with a foot resting on a car, similar to the one used in the film, both with tough facial expressions. The Boys are in the back of the car, with equally hard facial expressions. By posing as gangsters and recording the soundtrack for *Bonnie and Clyde*, the band associated outlaw and gangster stereotypes with bluegrass music. When advertising for Martha White, they portrayed Southern style, which attracted Southern consumers; however, for *The Story of Bonnie and Clyde*, the Boys dressed as 1920’s gangsters. It seemed as if they altered their visual appearances in order to

⁵⁰ “Flatt and Scruggs to Appear on Opry Inaugural Float,” WSM-TV Press Release, January 20th, 1969. Flatt and Scruggs Vertical File of the Frist Archive at the Country Music Hall of Fame Museum and Library.

⁵¹ “Flatt and Scruggs to Appear on Opry Inaugural Float.”

⁵² Flatt and Scruggs, *The Story of Bonnie and Clyde*, Columbia CS 9649.

increase product sales. Yet by doing such, Flatt and Scruggs promoted the affiliation of cultural stereotypes with their music nationally and internationally.

In March 1968, Flatt and Scruggs became the first American bluegrass band to perform in Asia. The tour lasted four weeks, and the Boys performed sold out shows in Tokyo, Okinawa, Formosa, and the Philippines.⁵³ Following the first performance, Flatt and Scruggs agreed to sign autographs, but within a few moments fans had overcrowded the room and Flatt and Scruggs were escorted out the back door.⁵⁴ Flatt recalled in an interview that while on tour in Japan, they were informed that around 500 bluegrass bands existed in Japan.⁵⁵ The fact that replications of traditional Southern American music existed in Japan displayed the exportation of Southern culture through the prominence of the visual and auditory media. Not only was the music of Scruggs and Flatt appreciated internationally, it also gained acceptance in the folk movement during the 1960's among American college students.⁵⁶ Their music was also accepted into the 'hard-rock' and 'psychedelic' culture found in the West Coast, their concerts in California typically sold out.⁵⁷ The popularity of this traditional Southern band was recognized thanks to the expanding visual media industry, which brought the music of Flatt and Scruggs in households around the globe.

As Flatt and Scruggs neared the end of their second decade together, the two parted ways by 1969. It was evident that Earl sought experimentation with other types of music. Scruggs with his three sons, Gary, Randy, and Steve, all of which possessed musical interests and abilities, formed The Earl Scruggs Revue, while Lester went on to form Nashville Grass. In a 1971

⁵³ "Flatt and Scruggs to Appear on Opry Inaugural Float."

⁵⁴ Louise Scruggs quoted in Godbey, 64.

⁵⁵ Flatt quoted in Kuykendall, 4.

⁵⁶ Nat Nentoff, "Cosmo Listens to Records," *Cosmopolitan* (April 1966). Flatt and Scruggs Vertical File of the Frist Archive at the Country Music Hall of Fame Museum and Library.

⁵⁷ "Flatt and Scruggs to Appear on Opry Inaugural Float."

interview, Flatt stated, “Earl has got a couple of boys coming along. They’re working on the Opry and maybe they’re doing the kind of music they want to do. I wish him well but we cannot work together anymore.”⁵⁸ Flatt and Scruggs remained friends following their split. Scruggs in 2003 said, “So I always and still today...have a warm spot and cherish the days we worked and traveled together.”⁵⁹ In 1985, Flatt and Scruggs were inducted into the Country Music Hall of Fame.⁶⁰

The Earl Scruggs Revue consisted of Earl, Gary, Randy, and Steve Scruggs, along with Josh Graves and Joe Maphis. The Revue combined rock, pop, country, and blues within their inventive and experimental sound. In a review of a 1971 Revue concert at the University of Oregon, Dean Baked credited the group with progressively experimenting in fields no other country or bluegrass group had previously attempted.⁶¹ The Revue performed at venues, outdoor festivals, and college campuses nationwide.⁶² When performing with the Revue, Scruggs and his sons did not wear the cowboy hats and string ties; instead they sported longer hair styles and leather jackets, which distanced their appearance away from bluegrass music. Initially, bluegrass fans were not enthusiastic about the Revue; however, as Scruggs recalled, “The Revue was more financially rewarding than Flatt and Scruggs.”⁶³

Earl Scruggs led a full life, filled with travel, family, and music. At age 88, Scruggs passed away from natural causes, yet he still exists through his music.⁶⁴ It is safe to say that anyone who has had an interest in the banjo, since at least the 1960’s, were most likely were

⁵⁸ Flatt quoted in Kuykendall, 3.

⁵⁹ Scruggs, “The Fresh Air Interview,” 10.

⁶⁰ Cakett, 36.

⁶¹ Dean Baked, “Earl Scruggs Started Pickin’ a Banjo at 4,” University of Oregon Concert Review (October 1st, 1971), *The Earl Scruggs Revue* scrapbook in Frist Archive at the Country Music Hall of Fame and Library.

⁶² Godbey, 64.

⁶³ Scruggs quoted in Godbey, 64.

⁶⁴ Maverick, 34.

influenced by the style of Mr. Scruggs. When asked in a 2007 interview what sparked his interest in the banjo, actor and banjo player Steve Martin replied, “I think the story is so similar for everybody...I heard Earl Scruggs play...so I bought a banjo.”⁶⁵ Contemporary bluegrass musician J.D. Crowe was quoted in *Bluegrass Unlimited* stating, “Had I not seen Earl Scruggs, I doubt very much if I’d be playing the banjo. I had no inclination to play the banjo, had no thoughts of playing the banjo...everyone wanted to play the banjo like Earl was playing.”⁶⁶ Scruggs’s exposure on television and radio during the 1950’s and 1960’s, made him famous. Scruggs had the criteria to become famous with his inventive banjo technique, yet if he had not pursued his musical calling and gained recognition with Monroe’s Blue Grass Boys on the Grand Ole Opry, bluegrass music would simply not be the genre that it is today. Scruggs is widely acknowledged as the fundamental bluegrass banjoist. Gibson Guitar Corporation acknowledges the importance of Mr. Scruggs, being that they produce five different banjos dedicated to him.⁶⁷

The advancements in the fields of radio and television broadcasting commercialized and spread folk music, such as bluegrass, nationally and internationally.⁶⁸ Flatt, Scruggs, and the Foggy Mountain Boys serve as a prime example of the commercialization of bluegrass music through their sponsorship with Martha White, which resulted in numerous opportunities for the group. Although the relationship the band had with Martha White promoted Southern stereotypes, it proved to be essential in the development of their prevalent fame. The exposure through WSM radio and television, of which Martha White Mills sponsored, allowed for the music of Flatt and Scruggs to be recognized, and used as theme music for the television sitcom *The Beverly Hillbillies*, and for the movie *Bonnie and Clyde*. Both productions were celebrated

⁶⁵ Steve Martin, “The Importance of Earl Scruggs, As Told By His Followers,” *Weekend Edition Sunday (NPR) Newspaper Source Plus* 2012, EBSCOhost (accessed May 2nd, 2013).

⁶⁶ J.D. Crowe quoted in Godbey, 65.

⁶⁷ Scruggs, “The Fresh Air Interview,” 11.

⁶⁸ Malone, 215.

by audiences worldwide; however, these productions conveyed stereotypes, such as hillbillies and outlaws, of which bluegrass music inevitably became associated with. These associations were a double-edge sword to the music of Flatt and Scruggs, in that their records sold and popularity increased, but through the advocating of stereotypes.

Scruggs' revolutionary banjo pickin' transformed the banjo itself, Monroe's sound, and bluegrass music in its entirety. His time with Lester Flatt, under the sponsorship of Martha White, reinforced bluegrass music as a Southern occurrence, yet it yielded popularity as a result. Through his fame, the Scruggs' style was able to influence audiences across the nation, and the globe. In the concluding lines of *Earl Scruggs and the 5-String Banjo*, Scruggs wrote, "It could probably be correctly stated that I was the first person to expose this style nationally. I would like to say "Thank You" personally to all of those who have learned from my playing. One of the greatest honors I have received comes from the people who, since 1946, have referred to three-finger banjo picking as 'Scruggs-Style.'"⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Scruggs, "Biographical Notes," 156.

Appendix

Appendix A.



Bibliography

Primary Sources

Arnett, Larry. "Flour Power: Flatt and Scruggs." *Country Song Round-Up* 20, no.112 (November 1968): 16-17. Frist Archive of the Country Music Hall of Fame Museum and Library.

This magazine article, from *Country Song Round-Up*, discussed the recognition Flatt and Scruggs received at their 20th anniversary Martha White celebration. The award they received represented how the Flatt and Scruggs endorsement of Martha White products influenced the business of Martha White Mills.

Baked, Dean. "Earl Scruggs Started Pickin' a Banjo at 4." University of Oregon Concert Review (October 1st, 1971). *The Earl Scruggs Revue* scrapbook in Frist Archive at the Country Music Hall of Fame and Library.

This is a review of a concert performed by The Earl Scruggs Revue in 1971 on the campus of the University of Oregon. Baked described the riveting performance he attended. Found in a scrapbook created by the archivists at Frisk within the Country Music Hall of Fame.

Beverly Hillbillies, The. "Jed Throws a Wing Ding." Episode 20, Season 1. January 3, 2013 (originally aired February 6, 1963). accessed October 15, 2013, www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hq7IYDzXajO.

In this episode of *The Beverly Hillbillies*, Lester and Earl make a special appearance.

Cakett, Alan. 2012. "Earl Scruggs." *Maverick* 34-36. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed April 25th, 2013).

"Earl Scruggs" is one of the many obituaries of Earl Scruggs. This obituary provides a concise biography of Scruggs' life and many achievements, along with pictures. It includes quotes from those he worked with and inspired.

Cooper, Peter. "Louis Scruggs Made Bluegrass a Business." *The Tennessean* (February 3rd, 2006): Section B. Earl Scruggs Vertical File of the Frist Archives of the Country Music Hall of Fame Museum and Library.

This newspaper article discusses the importance of Louis Scruggs, wife of Earl, as the female business manager of Flatt, Scruggs, and The Foggy Mountain Boys.

"Earl Scruggs: The 2003 Fresh Air Interview." *Fresh Air (NPR) Newspaper Source Plus*, EBSCOhost (accessed April 15th, 2013).

This interview with Earl Scruggs himself is very relevant and beneficial to my research in that Scruggs provided his first hand experiences of his successes in bluegrass music.

"Lester Flatt & Earl Scruggs & The Foggy Mountain Boys." *Bluegrass Unlimited*, Vol. 2 No. 1 (July 1967): 2. Box 1, *Bluegrass Unlimited* Collection, Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University Special Collections.

This is the cover photo from *Bluegrass Unlimited* of The Foggy Mountain Boys with Martha White products. This photo was originally taken in 1953, but was used for this 1967 issue.

Flatt and Scruggs. *The Complete Mercury Recordings*. Mercury Records B0000070-02. CD. 2003.

The Complete Mercury Recordings of Flatt & Scruggs serve as a primary source in the form of audio. During their time with Mercury Records, The Foggy Mountain Boys recorded Earl's extremely popular, instrumental hit: "Foggy Mountain Breakdown."

Flatt and Scruggs. *The Story of Bonnie and Clyde*. Columbia CS 9649

This album served as the soundtrack for the popular film, *Bonnie and Clyde*. The album cover depicts the Foggy Mountain Boys as gangsters, as opposed to their typical Southern appearances.

French, Bob. "Interview with Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs--January 1967." *Bluegrass Unlimited* Vol.2, no.1 (July 1967): 2-4. Box 1, *Bluegrass Unlimited* Collection. Archives of Appalachia at East Tennessee State University Special Collections Library.

This interview from *Bluegrass Unlimited* magazine provided first hand insight on the careers of Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs from their point of view. Scruggs and Flatt discuss with French their work with Bill Monroe, Earl's early life, and their group, The Foggy Mountain Boys.

Godbey, Marty. "The Artistry and Accomplishments of Earl Scruggs." *Bluegrass Unlimited* (August 1996): 56-67. Box 12, *Bluegrass Unlimited* Collection at the Archives of Appalachia at East Tennessee State University Special Collections Library.

This article outlines the career and accomplishments of Mr. Scruggs, and serves as both a primary and secondary source for my research. Using quotes from Earl himself, this source serves as a detailed record of his career in the music industry.

Henning, Paul. *Pearl, Pearl, Pearl*. Tis' Sweet to be Remembered. Sony Records B000002AD3, CD. Released in 1997.

This song was performed on *The Beverly Hillbillies* episode, "Jed Throws a Wing Ding."

Kuykendall, Pete. "Lester Flatt and the Nashville Grass." *Bluegrass Unlimited* 5, no. 7 (January 1971): 3-6. Box 2, *Bluegrass Unlimited* Collection. Archives of Appalachia at East Tennessee State University Special Collections Library.

In this article, Kuykendall reflects back on the careers of Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs, using quotes from a previous interview with Mr. Flatt. This article discusses the commercialization and advertising for Martha White Flour that Flatt and Scruggs promoted.

"Lester Flatt & Earl Scruggs & The Foggy Mountain Boys." cover photo from *Bluegrass Unlimited*, Vol. 2 No. 1 (July 1967): 2. Box 1, *Bluegrass Unlimited* Collection, Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University Special Collections.

This cover photo of The Foggy Mountain Boys serves as an example of their advertising means. They were photographed behind Martha White products and a WSM microphone.

Nentoff, Nat. "Cosmo Listens to Records" *Cosmopolitan* (April 1966). Flatt and Scruggs Vertical File at the Frist Archive at the Country Music Hall of Fame Museum and Library.

This article reviewed the music of Flatt and Scruggs, and addressed their role and popularity in the expanding folk music movement of the 1960's.

Best of the Flatt and Scruggs TV Show. Vol. 4: Episode #18 (undated), Episode March 1962.

Country Music Foundation, INC: 2007

This DVD contains two episodes from the Flatt and Scruggs Grand Ole Opry show, which ran from 1956-1962, sponsored by Martha White Flour.

Ronald, R.J. "Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs Discography." *Bluegrass Unlimited* 2, no.8

(February 1968): 5-9. Box 1, *Bluegrass Unlimited* Collection. Archives of Appalachia at East Tennessee State University Special Collections Library.

This source provides tracks and release dates for the music Flatt, Scruggs and The Foggy Mountain Boys recorded with Columbia Records.

Rosenberg, Neil V. "The Hurricane That Almost Hit Tampa." *Bluegrass Unlimited* 2, no.8

(February 1968): 9-10. Box 1, *Bluegrass Unlimited* Collection. Archives of Appalachia at East Tennessee State University Special Collections Library.

In this article, Rosenberg adds additional information about the Billboard top hits from the recordings Flatt, Scruggs and the Foggy Mountain Boys did with Columbia Records.

Scruggs, Earl quoted in Orr, Jay. "Now You Bake Right: Flatt and Scruggs on Regional

Television." Notes to *The Best of Flatt & Scruggs TV Show*, DVD (WSM-TV, Shanachie 2007).

Orr's notes serve both a primary and secondary source for my research. In this pamphlet, Scruggs is quoted regarding his feelings toward television.

Scruggs, Earl. *Earl Scruggs and the 5-String Banjo*. Broadway, New York: Peer International Corporation, 1968.

Written by Mr. Scruggs himself, *Earl Scruggs and the 5-String Banjo* provided insight into Earl's career from his perspective. This book includes background on the famous banjoist before Earl, songs, and chords.

Stuart, Marty. "Flatt and Scruggs: Mountain Music in Overdrive." *Journal of the American Academy for the Preservation of Old Time and Country Music* I, no.6 (December 1991): 8-11. Flatt and Scruggs Vertical File from the Frist Archive at the Country Music Hall of Fame Museum and Library.

This article provides details through quotes from both Flatt and Scruggs on their career, particularly with Martha White Flour.

WSM-TV NBC Affiliate Press Release. "Flatt and Scruggs to Appear on the Opry Inaugural Float." (January 14th 1969). Flatt and Scruggs Vertical File from the Frist Archive at the Country Music Hall of Fame Museum and Library.

This press release announced that Flatt and Scruggs would appear on the Inaugural Float in 1969. The release described their music, their tour in 'the Orient,' and the importance of Earl Scruggs' banjo method.

"You Bake Right With Martha White." http://www.marthawhite.com/assets/about/sheet_song.gif

This website provided the lyrics and the music to the Martha White theme song performed by Flatt, Scruggs, and the Foggy Mountain Boys on the Martha White sponsored radio program on WSM.

Ydstie, John. 2012. "The Importance Of Earl Scruggs, As Told By His Followers." *Weekend Edition Sunday* (NPR) *Newspaper Source Plus*, EBSCOhost (accessed May 2nd, 2013).

This program from 2007 interviewed Tony Trischka, Bela Fleck, and Steve Martin about Scruggs and the influence he had on them, and on musicians worldwide.

Secondary Sources

Cantwell, Robert. *Bluegrass Breakdown: The Making of the Old Southern Sound*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984.

In this chronological bluegrass history, Cantwell argued that bluegrass “belongs to a long-standing and widespread folk revival movement, both learned and popular, that is bound up with these ideas and, in this century, with the power of radio and phonograph to inspire them.”

Godbey, Marty. “The Artistry and Accomplishments of Earl Scruggs.” *Bluegrass Unlimited* (August 1996): 56-67. Box 12, *Bluegrass Unlimited* Collection at the Archives of Appalachia at East Tennessee State University Special Collections Library.

This *Bluegrass Unlimited* article serves as both a primary and secondary source for my research. Godbey quotes Scruggs and Flatt throughout, and provided his own insight regarding the career of Mr. Scruggs.

Havighurst, Craig. *Air Castle of the South: WSM and the Making of Music City*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007.

Havighurst discussed the importance of WSM radio in the creation and spread of country and bluegrass music. Scruggs got his start with WSM radio, and continued to work with WSM throughout his career with Mr. Flatt.

"History and Heritage," and "Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs." Martha White Mills. Accessed September 8, 2013. http://www.marthawhite.com/about/history_heritage.aspx

The Martha White Mills website provided background information regarding the company and its relationship with Flatt and Scruggs.

Huber, Patrick. *Linthead Stomp: The Creation of Country Music in the Piedmont South*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

Huber's work centers around the "southern industrial and working class origins of hillbilly music", which eventually evolved into modern country music and bluegrass. Huber focuses on the role that the southern white working classes, such as textile millhands, had in sculpting Southern American music during the era prior to World War II. Huber argues that hillbilly music, whose origins are associated with rural farms and mountain communities, actually spawned out of the industrialized cities in the south. This work aids in my understanding of the environment from which North Carolinian bluegrass emerged, and who the early contributors to this distinctive aspect of Southern culture.

Malone, Bill C. "Radio and Personal Appearances: Sources and Resources." *Western Folklore*, Vol. 30, Commercialized Folk Music (Jul., 1971): 215-225.

Malone outlined the developments of hillbilly music and attributed its rise and evolution to its use of radio broadcasting. Malone's argument sheds light on the career of Earl Scruggs in that his fame was, in part, the result of a twenty year sponsorship with Martha White Mills.

Orr, Jay. "Now You Bake Right: Flatt and Scruggs on Regional Television." Notes to *The Best of Flatt & Scruggs TV Show*, DVD (WSM-TV, Shanachie 2007).

This pamphlet accompanied the *Best of Flatt & Scruggs* DVD and provided additional information about the careers of Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs and their sponsorship with Martha White Flour. This pamphlet also serves as a primary source in my research, in that Orr used quoted from Mr. Scruggs.

Rosenberg, Neil V. *Bluegrass: A History*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985.

Rosenberg, a folklore scholar, began studying bluegrass in the 1960's during which he played in a bluegrass house band and met many of the famous bluegrass legends. His work provides an extensive, chronological history of bluegrass music from its origins of hillbilly music to contemporary bluegrass. Throughout this history, Rosenberg examines the founders of bluegrass, the stereotypes associated with, historic festivals, and contemporary works and assumptions regarding bluegrass. *Bluegrass* is an essential piece to my research regarding the roots of bluegrass music in North Carolina in that Rosenberg provides concise sequential historical examples and explanations of this "American cultural export".

Rosenberg, Neil V. "Image and Stereotype: Bluegrass Sound Tracks." *American Music* 1, no. 3 (1983): 1-22.

Similar to *Bluegrass*, this article by Rosenberg provides a plethora of examples of the stereotypes perpetuated through bluegrass music during the 1960's through the 1970's. "Image and Stereotype" provided " historical descriptions of bluegrass music note that the spread and success of bluegrass music as a popular genre resulted, in part, from its popularity in the visual media." This source describes the progression of bluegrass within popular culture by focusing on

the work of Earl Scruggs and Lester Flatt during this period. Rosenberg's analysis of these examples provided me with sources and aspects to consider.

Rumble, John W. *The Music of Bill Monroe: from 1936 to 1994*. (MCA, April 1994). Notes to the music of Bill Monroe. "The Glory Years: 1946-1949." 36-51.

In these notes, Rumble analyzed the relationship between Bill Monroe, Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs while they performed together and after the fact.

Stuart, Marty. "Flatt and Scruggs: Mountain Music in Overdrive." *Journal of the American Academy for the Preservation of Old Time and Country Music* I, No.6 (December 1991): 8-11. Flatt and Scruggs Vertical File from the Frist Archive at the Country Music Hall of Fame Museum and Library.

This article serves as both a primary and secondary source to my research. Stuart analyzed the careers of Flatt and Scruggs, and he included quotes from both Flatt and Scruggs within this article.